

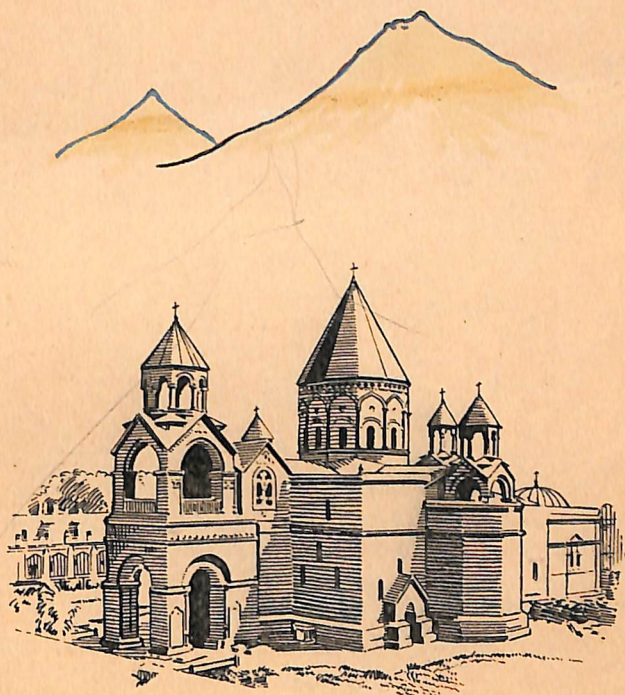
ARARAT.

A SEARCHLIGHT ON ARMENIA.

Vol. II. No. 17. London : NOV., 1914.

Price 6d.

Annual Subscription 6 Shillings.



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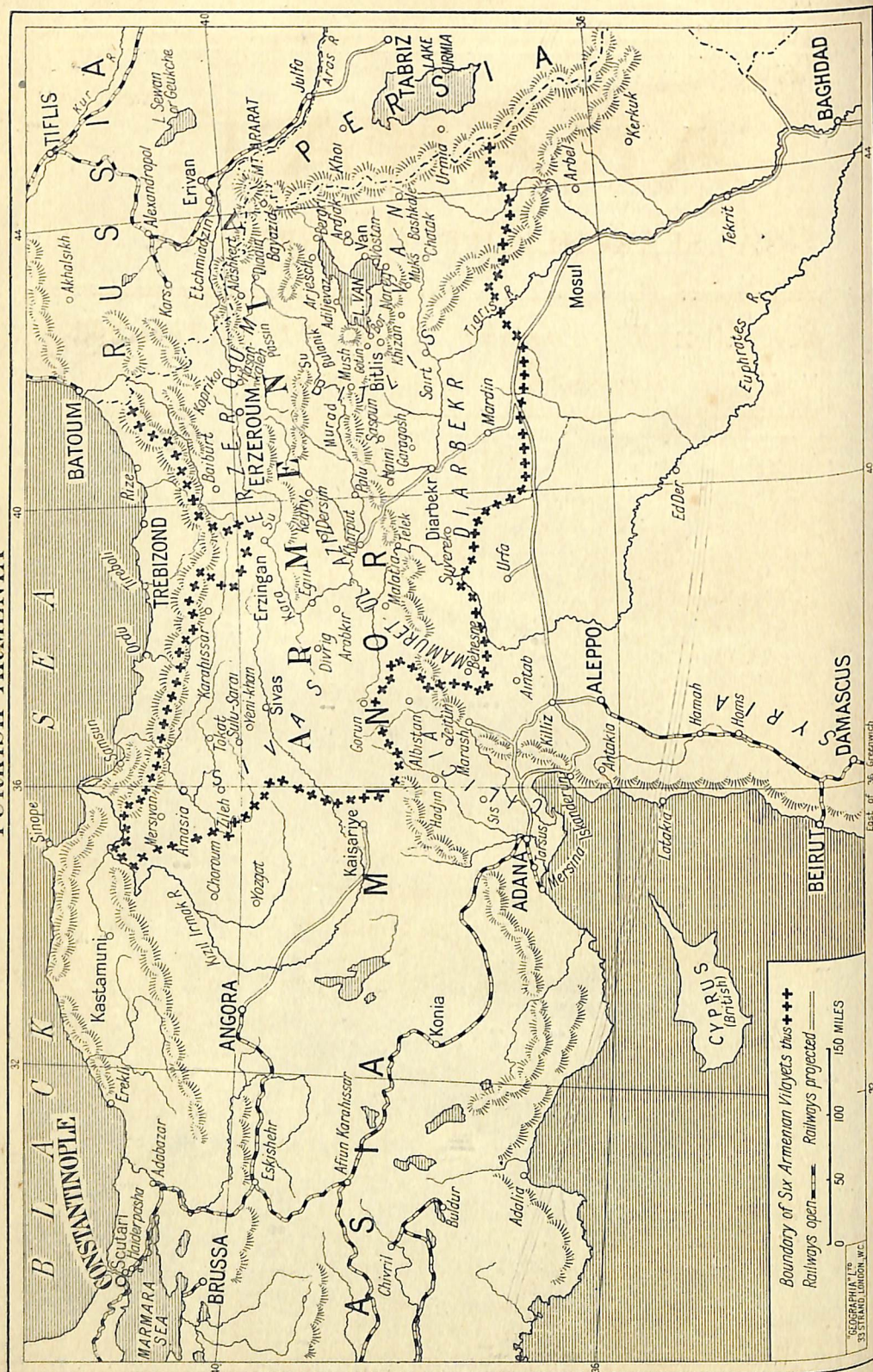
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Current Notes.

The die is cast, and Turkey has joined in the great struggle of nations. She has gone the way she was being led, and we wish her joy in her choice. The action of Turkey and the fruits in store for her will be best comprehended from the words of the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, in his Guildhall speech. After alluding to the sudden emergence of the Young Turk party in the Ottoman Empire, he proceeds :—

“ They had brought about a bloodless revolution, they had deposed the Sultan Abdul Hamid, whose devastating tyranny, I remember very well, was denounced in this very hall, 10 years or more before, by Lord Salisbury. At that time, November, 1908, as the spokesman of the British nation I took the opportunity to congratulate them—the Young Turks—on what as we all believed and hoped was the establishment of freedom and Constitutional Government in the Ottoman Empire.

“ Never were hopes so sanguinely entertained and so confidently expressed doomed to bitterer and more complete disappointment. But after six years’ experience we have reluctantly to admit that the Young Turk has reproduced the vices without either the vigour or the versatility of the old régime. When this war began three months ago we made it clear, in conjunction with our Allies, to the Turkish Government that if they remained neutral their Empire should not suffer in integrity or in authority. The statesmen of that unhappy party, sharply divided in opinion, vacillating in counsel from day to day, allowed their true interests to be undermined and overborne by German threats, by German ships, by German gold. (Cheers.) They were tempted to one futile outrage after another ; first the lawless bombardment of a Russian open port, then the equally lawless intrusion into Egyptian territory, until the Allies—Russia, France, and ourselves—who had withstood with unexampled patience a protracted series of flouts and veiled menaces of impudent equivocations, were compelled to yield to the logic of facts and to recognise Turkey as an open enemy. (Cheers.)

“ I wish to make it clear, not only to my fellow-countrymen, but to the world outside, that this is not our doing. It is in spite of our hopes and efforts, and against our wills. It is not the Turkish people—it is the Ottoman Government, that has drawn the sword, and which, I venture to predict, will perish by the sword. (Cheers.) It is they and not we who have rung the death-knell of Ottoman dominion, not only in Europe, but in Asia. With their disappearance will disappear, as I, at least, hope and believe, the blight which for generations past has withered some of the fairest regions of the earth. We have no quarrel with Mussulman subjects of the Sultan. Our Sovereign

claims among the most loyal of his subjects millions of men who hold the Mahommedan faith. Nothing is further from our thoughts or intentions than to initiate or encourage a crusade against their belief. Their Holy Places we are prepared, if any such need should arise, to defend against all invaders and to maintain inviolate. The Turkish Empire has committed suicide and dug with its own hand its grave."

Those are telling words, and there is not a shadow of doubt that the truth of the prophecies uttered will before very long be fully realised. The two arch-disturbers of the peace of the world, in Europe and in Asia, have been Prussian militarism and Turkish barbarism; and these have joined in an unholy alliance which, in the event of their triumph, would mean the extinction of civilisation as the world has known it. We feel sure, therefore, that the world of right and justice, on the side of which the Triple Entente Allies are ranged, will never submit to such extinction, and will grasp their swords the more tightly in order to crush beyond any risk of re-appearance the twin monsters of reaction.

The first consequences of the declaration of war with Turkey have been the annexation of Cyprus by England, the advance of Russian forces into Turkish Armenia, and the bombardment of the Dardanelles and of various Turkish ports in the Black Sea, the Red Sea and in the Persian Gulf. It is early yet to expect any decisive issue of the conflict that has been joined. So far as Russia is concerned, her main objective is the strong Turkish position of Erzeroum. With a swift offensive, she has advanced across the frontier, and has kept the Turks busy from the directions of Koprikoi, Bayazid and Van. Against superior forces, she has cut her way through to Koprikoi and has occupied the Padjivan heights. Her advance has, however, been checked for the moment by heavy Turkish reinforcements; but after inflicting terrible losses on a force four times as strong, she has repulsed the assaults and holds the positions gained. Towards Lake Urumiah, Turkish irregulars, led by German officers, have attacked the pro-Russian Kurdish leader Simko, in order to create complications with Persia, and to arouse the population against Russia. This movement was, however, resisted by armed Persians and Armenians, and the attempt to win over the Persian Kurds to the side of Turkey has failed. It has been stated that Van has been besieged by armed Armenian bands, but of this we have no confirmation.

With regard to naval activities, the combined British and French fleets have bombarded and caused considerable damage to the forts at the entrance to the Dardanelles. The Russian fleet in the Black Sea has been specially active in scattering the transports which attempted to land troops and munitions on the littoral near Trebizond; and in the neighbourhood of Sevastopol inflicted severe punishment on the Goeben, which is reported to be crippled. The British fleet, besides bestowing its attentions on the Dardanelles, has shown its activity in successfully removing Turkish obstacles from the Gulf of Akaba, the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and from the regions of the Shatt-el-Arab in the Persian Gulf. The Allies have been both forewarned and forearmed, and we must abide in patience to see the gradual and complete destruction of Turkish power wherever it exists.

The British annexation of Cyprus, to which we have referred above, revives curious memories in the minds of Armenians. The existing descendants of the House of Lusignan, which gave kings to the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, lay claims to sovereign rights in the island. Levon (Leo) VI, the last king of the Lusignan line, fell into the hands of the Egyptians, and the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia finally disappeared in 1375. Levon was carried captive to Jerusalem, and afterwards sent to Paris, where he died in 1393. His descendants have frequently asserted their rights to the crown of Armenia and Cyprus. The last well-authenticated claim was that of Guy de Lusignan, who died in a cellar in Paris in 1795. More recently, however, in 1884, a claim to direct descent was put forward by Archbishop Khoréne, who represented the Armenians at the Congress of Berlin in company with the ex-Patriarch (afterwards Catholicos) Khrimian. He won many supporters in this country to his modest claim that the Island of Cyprus should be made over to his family while they waited until the throne of Armenia was sufficiently ripe to fall into their laps. One of the Archbishop's brothers married an English lady, while another was the husband of Mlle. de Nosrois, well known in Parisian society as "Princess Marie de Lusignan of Cyprus, Jerusalem, and Armenia." The "Princess" was a close friend of Victor Hugo.

The reproduction we give in this issue of a squad of Armenian Volunteers, who are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the French on behalf of the Allies, should bring vividly to our minds the privations and hardships which are inseparable from the self-sacrificing endeavours of all who are struggling to uphold the cause of civilisation. Armenians in this country have responded nobly to the calls made on behalf of the British force. On behalf of their own compatriots no call has yet

been made here, and we venture to invite contributions of comforts, such as knitted socks, mufflers, balaclavas, etc., as well as money, which will be received at the office of the Armenian United Association, and forwarded to the right quarter. Or, these might be forwarded direct to

Monsieur S. David Bey,
Secrétaire General du Comité des Volontaire Armeniens,
39 Rue Lafayette, Paris.

who has kindly undertaken the disposal in the best interests of those concerned.

Our fellow countrymen in the Caucasus have been prompt and practical in this respect. The General Benevolent Association of the Caucasus has opened a hospital for the wounded at Tiflis with 50 beds; the Phil. Association of Bacou has similarly arranged for 100 beds; and the Progressist Association of Armenians of Bacou for 50 beds in a private building. The Armenian merchants of Tiflis have taken on themselves the upkeep of a hospital with 100 beds, and the Armenians of Moscow have taken similar steps for one of 70 beds. There has also been opened at the Lazarian Lyceum at Moscow a hospital for 120 beds, to which has been assigned the patronage of St. Gregory, the Illuminator. The Armenians of Nor-Nakhichevan have equipped a hospital for 150 wounded. The hospitals in all these cases are open to the wounded of all nationalities, and they are under the control of State doctors. The forethought that is brought to bear on the arrangements has not lost sight of literature that may be needed for the wounded; and books have been supplied in all the various languages used in the country to soothe the dreary moments of convalescence.

In the United States, too, we notice in the *Gotchnag*, that an Armenian resident has sent a handsome donation to the French Ambassador at Washington towards the French Red Cross Organisation. In acknowledging receipt, the Ambassador says:—"This proof of sympathy from an Armenian, whose compatriots are bravely fighting for France, will, no doubt, be sincerely appreciated."

Another instance of individual generosity is evidenced in the case of M. Babovian, of Moscow, who has opened a hospital with 100 beds, undertaking personally the entire expense. In addition, Madame Babovian is serving in the hospital as a nurse. It is right that such humanitarian actions of our nation should be widely known and appreciated.

While the Young Turks and their newly-found convert, Kaiser Wilhelm Mohammed, are ransacking the uttermost ends of the world with their Pan-Islamic propaganda, the Turks of the Caucasus, with wool in their ears, are following the successes of their Russian overlords with lively satisfaction. Moussa Naghiev and H. Z. Taghiev, two well-known and wealthy Turks in the Caucasus, have sent 50,000 roubles each to Countess Vorontsoff-Dashkoff to be used on behalf of the wounded soldiers of the Russian Army. Young Turks! Please note that your Pan-Islamism is a sham!

On the evening of November 5th a meeting of the Armenian Society was held at 18, Addison Gardens, Kensington, by kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Simey. Mr. Simey was in the chair, and said a few opening words of greeting to introduce Canon Parfit, of St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem. The Society, being a British one, a few Armenians only were present, and Lieut.-Col. Gregory, President of the Armenian United Association, explained in a short speech "Who are the Armenians." Canon Parfit then gave an address on the causes of the war and the position of Christians in the East, with special reference to Armenians. Great interest was shown as the Canon, whose home is at Beirut, has lived twenty years in the East and is intimately acquainted with the Armenian people and with every phase of the Eastern Question. Mr. A. S. Safrastian, in the name of those present, thanked Canon Parfit for his able and sympathetic address. Mr. H. A. Godson Bohn proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Simey for their kind hospitality, which was received with applause. Light refreshments and general conversation brought the pleasant and instructive proceedings of the evening to a close.

We have information from Paris that the Armenians of France, on the declaration of war with Turkey, sent suitable addresses to M. Delcassé, Sir Edward Grey and M. Isvolsky. They have also sent an address to Count Vorontsoff-Dashkoff, Viceroy of the Caucasus, and the following telegram to His Majesty the Czar:—

To His Majesty the Czar,
Emperor of All the Russias.

We respectfully place at the foot of the august throne of Your Majesty, the Protector of the Armenian nation, the expression of our profound gratitude, and we invoke the Divine benediction over the glorious Russian Armies which are now about to avenge the lives of the hundreds of thousands of our martyred countrymen, and to deliver from the Turkish yoke our ancient and unfortunate Armenia.

On behalf of the Armenian Colony of Paris,

KIBARIAN,

Arch-priest.

On Sunday, Nov. 15th, there was held at the Armenian Church in Paris a solemn *Te Deum* to indicate the sense of joy at the opportunity vouchsafed for the liberation of Armenia.

The Turkish Army.

The outbreak of war between Turkey and the Allied Powers naturally induces us to cast a glance over the military position of Turkey at the present moment, and to consider in what manner she can harass the dominions of the Allies which lie in her neighbourhood. By the details we shall be able to gather, our curiosity will lead us towards fathoming the depths into which German intrigues have dragged Turkey, a willing tool in her own self-destruction.

TURKISH MILITARY PRESTIGE.

The Turks, imbued with fatalistic ideas, have in the past been reckoned as stalwart soldiers ready to be led against any obstacle. Within recent years, however, the officers of the army have had their usefulness much impaired by their division into political factions, and the inefficiency from this cause noticeable in the higher ranks has had the natural consequence of filtering down into the mass of the common soldier. The Balkan war of 1912-13 gave us an object-lesson in this down-grade tendency of the Ottoman army, when, in spite of German training and German armaments, the Balkan Alliance made short work of the masses arrayed against it. Perhaps the fatalistic ideas of the Turk had also something to do in the *débâcle*, for these masses were hurled against the Balkan States without regard for roads of communication, or for organised transport, or for the feeding and medical care of the troops—and such lack of essential organisation is fatal to the conduct of war in the twentieth century. It is no wonder then that the military prestige of the Turkish Empire has received a decided set-back.

THE TOOL OF GERMANY.

On the other hand, the desperate straits in which Germany is placed by the war, and the power she has been able to exercise over a certain military clique in Turkey headed by Enver Pasha, has induced her to make a supreme effort to prepare the Turkish army as a military engine against the Allies. Moreover, the colossal indebtedness of Turkey to the Germanic Empire, in which the Baghdad Railway plays no small part, a veritable Laocoon in the grip of financial serpents, is an additional cause which goes to place the Turkish Empire absolutely under the heel of the Teuton. Germany at the present moment is paramount at Constantinople, and Turkey has no voice in her own salvation—she must carry out the instructions of her over-lord; and such being the case, Turkey must reap the consequences of the position she has made for herself.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE ARMY.

With regard to the army itself, the numbers Turkey could muster are by no means inconsiderable on paper; but we doubt if paper estimates will correspond to the number she can actually bring into the field. Mobilisation, as we know, has been in progress for some time, and it is roughly estimated that the Turkish army now comprises

about 500,000 more or less trained men; and about 250,000 untrained men at the depots. On the European side of the Bosphorus, it is estimated that there are about 250,000 men of all arms between Constantinople and Thrace. In Eastern Anatolia, or Armenia, as a menace to Russia, is a force of about 200,000 men, supplemented by Kurdish irregulars for raiding purposes. Then we have in Western Anatolia, in the regions of Smyrna and the coast, close on an Army Corps; and a force of some 40,000 or more, beside Arab irregulars, in Palestine and Syria, as a menace to the British in Egypt. The main army is thus accounted for, but we doubt if the reserve battalions, which are in the making, will ever be of any value, from the information we have gathered as to their ragged and starved condition. A first-hand account of their training we are enabled to give at the close of this article. We trust, however, that the necessity for these being brought into the line of battle will have vanished long before their training is completed.

THE ARMY'S OBJECTIVE.

Enver Pasha, as the nominal head of the Turkish army, is anxious to make a bid for regaining the provinces lost in the Balkan war with the larger force kept on the European side, while the object of the Germans is to harass Russia on one side and England on the other, in the Caucasus and Egypt respectively. In spite of the sprinkling of German commanders and officers in the Turkish army, it remains to be seen what account the Turks can give of themselves. Their dubious and practically hostile attitude during the last three months has put both Russia and England on their guard, and powerful forces have been ready to meet any emergency both in the Caucasus and in Egypt. Indeed, as we write, Russia has actually taken the offensive and penetrated into Armenia, hurling back in her onset the Turkish opposition which she met, while the Armenians of the districts are up in arms against their persecutors. It will not be long, we trust, before Russia is at Erzeroum, and the entire Armenian vilayets under her control. The British garrison in Egypt can be trusted to have in safe keeping that country and the great high-road to the East, the Suez Canal, over which the British fleet is keeping a ceaseless watch; while in Mesopotamia it will be the dying flicker of German efforts to save their interests in the Baghdad railway. How far the German heaven will infuse martial spirit into an army that was unwilling to go to war after its exhaustion by the Balkan campaign remains to be seen. Our opinion is that the German attempt in this direction will be as futile as their assiduous Pan-Islamic propaganda which has miserably come to naught.

THE TRAVESTY OF TURKISH TRAINING.

We have from time to time drawn attention to the Turkish mobilisation scheme, and the travesty of the training of recruits which constitute the reserves of 250,000, without barracks, without money, and without a sufficiency of clothing and equipment. Our readers

will be interested to have a first-hand account from an Armenian correspondent at Constantinople, whose knowledge is gained from within :—

“In the school of *Harbiye* (for Reserve officers), where I am, there have been registered more than 6,000 students and the pupils of high and secondary schools; there are also among them young men from the *madrèsses*, whose literary attainments are of the most elementary kind. These military students, who will be the officers of to-morrow, are divided into two classes—the nocturnal and the diurnal—and throughout the arrangements in this school complete disorganisation reigns. Imagine, though I am in the diurnal class, at the instigation of a friend and in order to satisfy my own curiosity, I went one day to the night school, and passed the night there without anyone being the wiser. The diurnal students have to provide their own uniforms and even their own food. In the nocturnal class a very few of the students have been provided by the military authorities with uniforms, and these were in so dirty and shabby a condition, that several of those who received them were too ashamed to be seen in them, and threw them away.

“The meals of the nocturnals, morning and evening, consist of beans, bread, *turlu* without any meat, very seldom *pilaf* (a dish of rice), and often *lapa*, so insipid and badly prepared as to be the standing joke of the students, who have composed a song, *The March of Lapa*, which they sing to the tune of *The March of Liberty* whenever they sit at table for their meals.

“Not only is the food abominable, but there is an entire absence of bedroom arrangements, so that the students are jammed together for sleeping purposes in the corridors. In a space which can hardly accommodate with decency forty persons, about 250 students are crowded together for their nocturnal slumbers.

“There is also an entire absence of military discipline; though one daily expects to hear of new arrangements, a new programme, new orders, and changes of procedure. Very few of the officers behave decently, and the majority always shamefully. Their idea of rigid discipline is to swear at the students; and it should be remembered that Turkish officers assume a very severe attitude, especially towards the Christian students. It is the psychology of the Turk, which will take a long time to eradicate, the more so that they are not anxious to ascertain which way their interests lie. These Turkish officers are so Germanophile that, though they will tolerate any criticism of Turkey and her army, they will resent anything said against Germany and her army. That is wonderful—is it not?—when we consider that up till now the Turks have gained nothing but misfortune from their association with Germans. Their attachment to them seems, indeed, incomprehensible! Anyway, let us leave them alone with their Germans, for, in truth, they are blind enough to deny the existence of the Sun!

“The Government are altogether short of rifles. It is now more than six weeks ago that we began to go through our exercises, but most of us have no rifles, we have had no practice with any, nor do we know how to use them—and we are going to fight!

“Witeman Bey, a German officer, who is appointed General Commander of the reserve officers, ordered us out one day for field manoeuvres, when he was to inspect us. We passed two or three hours in the open, under torrential rain, waiting in vain for Witeman Bey's promised appearance and inspection. Well, up till now, if you can say you have seen him, we might also say the same! They told us afterwards that he had actually arrived, but he departed immediately in his automobile, conveying his thanks to us, and his felicitations on our magnificent (!) show—which he never saw. And in Turkey they call this inspection! And under German supervision too! We should say it was inspection *à la Tourka*!

“Von Sanders Pasha, who has appointed himself the Commander-in-Chief of the First Army, has also his own comical methods of conducting an inspection. He comes barely once a week to the training ground on the left side of our School, and prances about on his magnificent charger—apparently to impress on all the good points of that charger—and does not even cast a glance at us students, who will shortly graduate as officers, and then scampers away to his palace. And for all such inspections of military students and the training of the Army he draws with the utmost regularity the sum of £500 monthly.

“We are all convinced that von Sanders Pasha and his subordinates are really not the inspectors of the Turkish Army, but the political agents of Germany. And as to Enver Bey, ‘Minister of War,’ well, he is nothing more than the puppet of Sanders.

“In consequence of the mobilisation, life all over Turkey is at a standstill and intolerable. The number of deserters, especially among the Christian soldiers, increases daily, notwithstanding the Sultan's *firman* that all such cases are punishable with death.

“You can imagine what will be the outcome of it all if we have to face another war under such lamentable conditions, and after two disastrous wars. . . .”

Such outspoken comments, written to a friend and before Turkey had entered into the conflict, support what we were already cognisant of. Our interest in the letter, however, can only be saddened by the news that the Turks are arresting those who might show an injudicious bias against things German and Turkish, where no comment or criticism is permitted. Let us hope that the writer has escaped the doom that awaits those in the Turkish Empire who doubt the infallibility of the authority that wields power at the moment.

Armenians as "Alien Enemies."

The entry of Turkey into the war creates a new problem for the Home Office, but it is a problem which should be easy of solution, if serious steps are taken, and without delay. The Armenian colony in the British Isles is cosmopolitan, and is made up of Russian, British, Persian, American and Turkish subjects. These last, on the declaration of war with Turkey, became technically and automatically "alien enemies." Perhaps they represent 50 per cent. of Armenian residents in this country, out of a total, in round numbers, of about 1,500. These people have fled from Turkish persecutions, and though not yet naturalised, as some of their more fortunate brethren are, they are heart and soul against Turkish rule. Hundreds of thousands of Armenians are fighting in the Russian ranks, and smaller numbers in the French army, while even the British forces have a sprinkling of them. It would indeed be the irony of fate if, after flying from Turkish persecutors, these industrious and peace-loving people should now suffer under the blindfold severity of British rule. We are in a position to state that the enforcement of the Order for the Registration of Aliens has already affected these people seriously. Many have lost their means of livelihood, while the influential colony of Manchester, whose dealings in the cotton trade run into millions, are seriously hampered in their financial transactions on account of the Bank of England declining to assist in connection with bills of exchange.

In parallel cases, Poles of German and Austrian nationality have been granted the privilege of obtaining certificates from the Polish Information Committee, which prevents them from being considered as "alien enemies." The Greek Embassy has been prompt to register as Greek subjects all Greeks of Ottoman origin. The French have been equally far-seeing in authorising the grant of certificates to Ottoman Armenians in France by the prelate at the head of the Armenian church in Paris, which is practically recognised as a passport, and carries with it exemption from the disabilities of being an "alien enemy."

The Armenian United Association of London, representing the Armenians here, has applied to the Home Office for similar concessions to Armenian Ottoman subjects resident in Great Britain, the President even offering his services to the Home Office towards rendering any facilities that may be necessary to remove the serious ban that is now placed on his countrymen. The Association is also preparing as complete a list as possible of all Armenians in this country. But the Home Office moves slowly, and though nearly a fortnight has elapsed since the representation was made, no response has yet been vouchsafed. We feel sure, however, that relief will come in good time, and in the way we expect.

We need only show here how things are done with greater rapidity among our Allies. On war being declared, this matter was at once taken up in France by several Deputies, and the French Foreign Office

was approached through their mouthpiece, M. Denys Cochin, that redoubtable champion of Armenians and other Eastern Christians. The result was prompt, and the Oriental Association of Paris has had the felicity to tender its warm gratitude to the French Government for "the measure of their supreme justice shown towards Ottoman subjects, by a just discrimination between the blind partisans of the war and those others who, for centuries, have nourished sentiments of admiration and gratitude for the noble French nation."

We trust the British Home Office will delay no longer in also showing such "just discrimination," and releasing Ottoman Armenians, who live in eternal gratitude to this country, from an intolerable and unnecessary position. *Bis dat qui cito dat.*

Armenians and the European War.

Since the outburst of the Balkan Hurricane, if we have had the misfortune of witnessing, once again, the inglorious rôle played by our *bourgeois* compatriots—Pashas, Beys and Effendis—who, under the veil of the so-called Reform Commissions, were touring the European capitals and, as political mendicants, were imploring the mercy, the grace and the pity of the various "Christian" Governments in favour of the persecuted Christian population of Armenia, we have also had the gratification and the joy of admiring the heroic deeds and the valorous feats of the Armenian Youth, who, with undaunted courage and admirable tenacity, fought shoulder to shoulder with their Balkan brethren against the powerful, treacherous and ingrate common enemy, thus displaying brilliantly the national Armenian Spirit and love of freedom, which had not been crushed even by centuries of intolerable tyranny and unimaginable suffering.

Our heroic comrades, who died in the prime of life on the Balkan battlefields for the cause of an emancipated Macedonia, have shown us the only way towards the demolition of the doctrine that "Might is Right," and also the true path to follow in the realisation of our national and social aspirations.

Some European travellers have been, ruthlessly and without sufficient evidence, portraying Armenians as "despicable wretches, helpless, miserable sheep, with no manly qualities," the natural victims of massacre by "a brutal and licentious soldiery," who, though deserving the compassion and the pity of European nations, are hardly worthy of their respect. The immortal heroes of Sassoun, of Zeytoun, of Van, of the Caucasus and, lately, of the Balkan War, have clearly demonstrated the viciousness of these slanders; and the Armenian volunteers in France (a small group of whom is given in this issue), in England, and a vast number in Russia are now giving the *coup de grace* to these abominable calumnies.

* * * * *

It is an undeniable fact that from the moment the German military caste provoked the European conflagration, jeopardising the existence of the most democratic nations of the world, the loyal sympathy of the Armenian nation was automatically ranged on the side of the Allies, nations that had combined to draw the sword in support of the sanctity of solemn treaties, for the upholding of the principle of nationalities, and in the cause of Freedom and Human Justice—those very principles for the realisation of which hundreds of thousands of Armenians have continued to the present moment willingly to lay down their precious lives.

Nor is the sympathy of the Armenians of a passive character. If our well-to-do compatriots have contented themselves by contributing to the National Funds and to the Red Cross Organisations of the Allied nations, and if our clericals and conservatives have salved their consciences by the offering up of hearty prayers to the Almighty for the success of the Allied arms, on the other hand, our sturdy working men and idealist students, in Russia as well as in France, filled with a superb feeling of sacrifice, forsaking their future promising prospects in the lands of their adoption, and abandoning their beloved families to the tender mercy of poverty, have rallied round the flag of Liberty and Freedom and have volunteered for the duration of this colossal combat, which is without parallel in the history of mankind.

* * * * *

The Armenians are fighting—to use an expression of the Right Honble. G. W. E. Russell—a purely *chivalrous fight*, for their interests are not towards territorial aggrandisement, nor are they for the securing of gold mines or diamond fields, nor for establishing positions of strategical value. They are not even fighting from the point of view of personal and selfish interests, for they have scarcely anything to gain materially, and perhaps much to lose individually by their present action. Nevertheless, they could not, in a spirit of apathy, stand by and witness the destruction of noble, chivalrous France—France the champion of liberty, the cradle of Revolutionary spirit in Europe, France that was for long the leader of literature and art and the defender of the cause of oppressed nations—without offering her what little help they could. Every enlightened Armenian considers, as every civilised person should consider, that the downfall of gallant France would be tantamount to the downfall of civilisation. Armenians and the democracy of Europe owe much to the French Revolution, the sparks of which have purified the lives of many nations that, for centuries, had submitted to the tyrannical forms of government kept alive for the benefit of despots.

Let it be understood, too, that Armenians are not fighting, as some of their Chauvinists claim, against the Germanic Empires, on the grounds that the Kaiser was the instigator of those ghastly and chronic series of massacres which culminated in the hideous holocausts of the closing days of 1896, when three hundred thousand helpless Armenians

were inhumanly put to death under the orders of the “Great Assassin.” We are perfectly well aware that Germany was not the only Power that by its diplomacy and intrigue encouraged the Red Sultan in his devilish machinations. Every reader of history knows the famous answer given by the late Prince Lobanoff Rostowski to the English Government that proposed the exercise of coercive measures on Abdul Hamid for carrying out projected Armenian reforms. And what was that answer? “Russia cannot tolerate the creation of another Bulgaria on her frontiers.” And then again, what was the rôle played by M. Hanotaux, the French Foreign Minister at that period? Did it not bring forth from the late Lord Salisbury the retort that the British fleet was not in a position to cross the Taurus Mountains?

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Notwithstanding these tragic and historic facts that the Armenians of Turkey were abandoned by Europe and left helpless in the hands of their executioners, they are proud to-day to demonstrate to the world that they have possessed the necessary moral power to surmount all obstacles, and, by preserving their national existence, are, at this psychological moment, in a fit state to fight in the ranks of the armies of the Allies. It should not be assumed that, after so many bitter disappointments, Armenians now attach much value to the seductive promises held out from high quarters. What they are convinced of is that German despotism, German militarism, German capitalism have not only combined in their aim to subjugate, by brute force, the democratic nations of Europe, but also to wipe out completely the existence of all small nations; and the sole object of this German policy is to extend the area of that country's economic speculations and extortions, from which the German proletariat itself is an equal sufferer. Prussian militarism has been bent on treading under its iron heels the democratic liberties of Europe and of contemporary civilisation, the ideals of which are that every nation, large or small, should preserve its historical and individual existence, and develop freely its own proper culture and civilisation—in other words, it is making war against the upholding of the ideal of National Sovereignty. It is for this end that Armenians have for so long been shedding their blood in torrents, with palpitating hearts and in the firm belief that, sooner or later, the sacred ideal of international justice and the brotherhood of men would be realised, when all nations would live in the bonds of co-operation and unity, preserving all the time their liberties, their own culture and their independence.

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And we are glad to note that our brave volunteers are inspired with these high ideals. They have no hatred towards the German people, as they have had none towards the ignorant Turkish population who have also been sufferers under the barbarous régime of those tyrants—Old or Young—who have styled themselves the Turkish Government.

The following extract from a letter of an Armenian volunteer, published in the *Eritassard Hayastan* of Providence, R.I. (U.S.A.), indicates that those who are joining the Allies have correctly comprehended their mission:—

"You know, of course, what grand ideals have prompted the Armenian volunteers to go to the battlefield. . . . The war has been provoked by the German Government, whose military preparations, during the past twenty-five years, have reached the climax and caused the growth of the European reaction. . . . As Social Democrats, we are the foremost in protesting against every kind of injustice and extortion, and we defend the interests of all who are oppressed. . . . We fight not only for the political and economic emancipation of the working class, but also for the liberty and the independence of nationalities. . . . We fight to-day in defence of French culture and the French nation, who have been attacked without any provocation on its part. . . . We gladly embrace the rifle to level it at German imperialism, which tramples under foot the sacred principles of democracy. . . . We are all prepared to fight to the end with the utmost bravery, and you may be well assured that we shall all do our duty without any flinching."

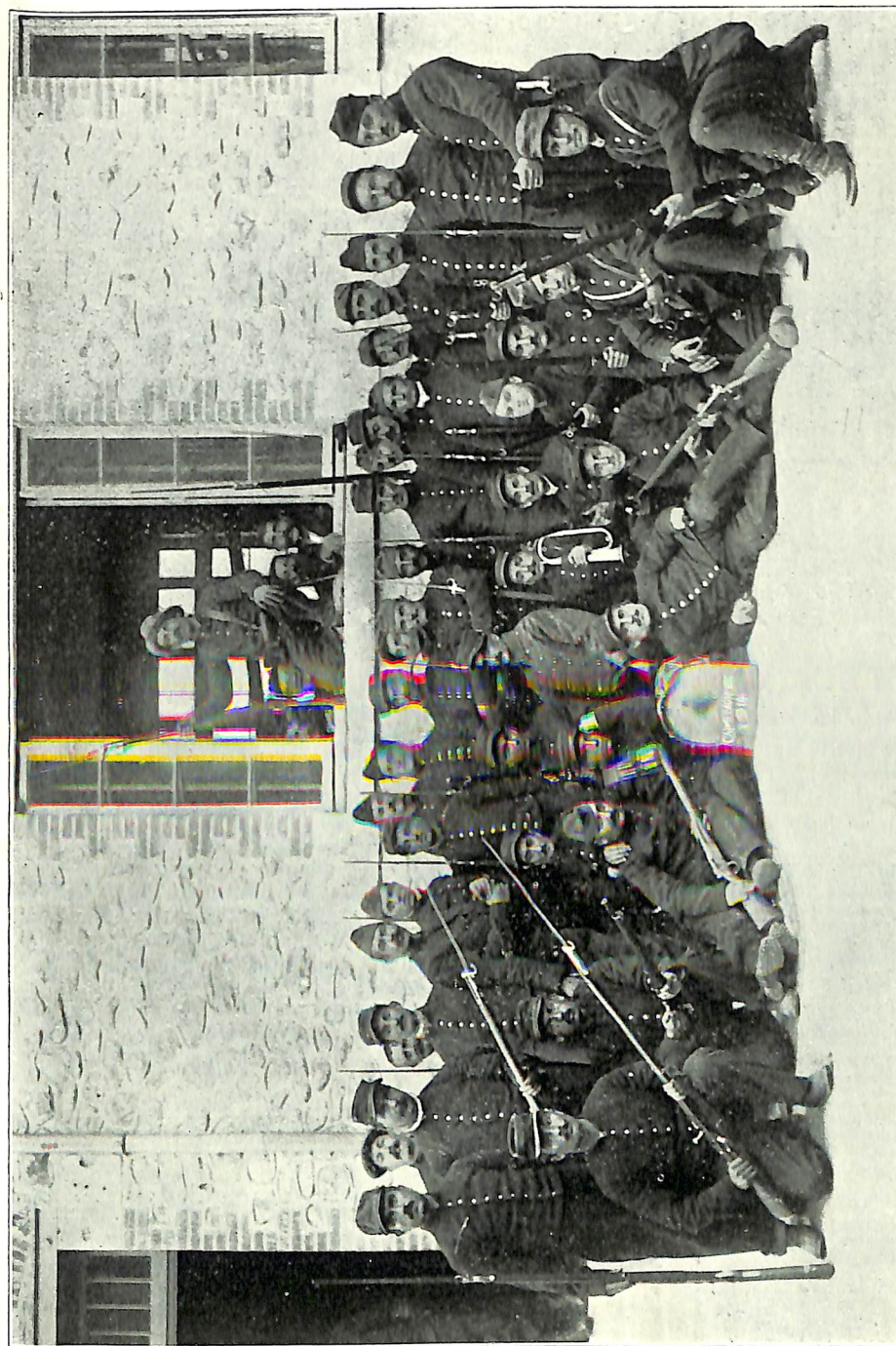
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Armenia may well be proud of such brave and intelligent sons, who will, we doubt not, cover themselves with honour and glory in the Western as well as in the Eastern theatre of war. And if death be their lot in this life-and-death struggle between Civilisation and Barbarism, they know at least that they have died in a Holy Cause, and their immortal memory will always be tenderly cherished in the bosom of every patriotic Armenian.

Dare we hope that European diplomacy, which has in the past been so cruel in its treatment of Armenia, will be touched by this supreme and disinterested devotion of Young Armenia? Let us at least believe that, at the next Congress of Berlin, where the Allies will dictate their terms of a lasting peace, it will make the necessary atonement for all the crying injustice it has heaped on our martyr nation. Let us have faith, too, with *The Westminster Gazette*, that "the action of Great Britain in defending Belgium is a conclusive answer" to our cherished dreams. In this way alone will Armenia soon come to her own—a full and well-deserved reparation. In the mean time, while her country is a battle-ground, and defenceless Armenians are scattered throughout the Turkish Empire, she will again have her full share of bloodshed, murder and rapine, which we trust will be the last crimes committed in that unhappiest corner of the world. Suffering humanity will once for all be freed from the Huns of Europe and of Asia, whose insatiable greed has for so long desiccated the sources of happiness, welfare and progress of a peace-loving and industrious race.

Paris.

HAGOP TURABIAN.



A Squad of Armenian Volunteers of the 2nd Foreign Regiment
(3rd Company) of the French Army.

Rev. Harold Buxton on Armenia.

(*Special to "Ararat."*)

At the Congress of the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches Union, which was held in the Great Hall, Church House, Westminster, on Thursday, October 22nd, the chair was taken by the Bishop of London, and the speakers included the Right Rev. H. Bury (Bishop for Northern and Central Europe), Rev. A. W. Cazalet, and the Rev. H. Buxton.

All the speeches were of great interest, relating, as they did, to the present attitude of the Church of England towards the Eastern Churches. They dealt chiefly with the Russian Orthodox Church, and tended to shew that great sympathy now exists between this Church and the Church of England.

The Rev. H. Buxton had, as his subject, the Armenian Church. Referring to the present situation, he said :—

"Armenians are concerned with this War, as citizens of Russian Armenia (1), and thousands of them are fighting with the Russian troops. Armenia has been of late an echo and a tradition of the enthusiasm of Gladstone. That enthusiasm, which dates from 30 years ago, is now revived in this war—in this war of small nationalities."

He continued :—

"What is the life of the Armenian people? What is the value of their civilisation and culture? Prince Bismarck said :—
"They are not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier," but we hope now for a different estimate. In our recent travels we were impressed by the extent of Armenian civilisation and culture. We were impressed by the strong vitality of the Armenians as a people who are capable of contributing to the life of the world. The most significant fact with regard to them is their devotion to their National Church. We were most cordially welcomed, as fellow Christians, at Etchmiadzin and were struck with the learning and the educational institutions in existence there.

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"Contrast the position of the Armenians in Turkey with that of the Armenians in Russia. We were able to make that comparison. In Russian Armenia, the people were able to pursue their occupations in peace and to prosper in all trades and professions, as there is perfect security of life, honour and property. They have established many learned institutions; they have a

(1.) Since this speech was made, war has arisen between Turkey and the Allies, so that the Armenians are now concerned also as subjects of Turkey.

very advanced form of literature, art and music. Ten years ago there was some friction between the Armenians and the re-actionary Government then ruling in the Caucasus, but all that is now a thing of the past. But, in Turkish Armenia, there is no security and at any moment the people are in danger of invasion by Kurds.

"Whatever else may be said, it must be admitted that not only is it astonishing that the Armenian Church and Armenia as a nation have managed to exist through all the massacres and through all the misery of centuries, but the most wonderful thing of all is that they have preserved any spirit at all."

The speaker then entered into details about the Armenian Church and people, giving a great deal of interesting information and saying in conclusion:—

"Although Armenians live in divers lands, which have, in some respects, different interests, and although many countries of the world are now at war, there is unity among all the Armenians because they are a nation."

A. R.

The Latest Crime of the "Young Turk.

Armenians Executed in Constantinople.

We have, from the Armenian newspapers of Tiflis, the sad and heartrending news (partly confirmed by Reuter), that the "Young-Old" Turkish Government—if we can assign the term "Government" to that miserable camarilla of criminal plotters, in whose clutches are now unfortunately held the destinies of dying Turkey and her unhappy population—has publicly executed three innocent Armenians, arrested numerous Hentchakists, and expelled some well-known Dashnakists, with whom they were on friendly terms until recently. The reason for this reversion to Hamidian tactics is to strike terror among the Armenians with a view to making it impossible for them to join in any internal attempt at revolution while the New Hamidians are carrying out the behests of their new Khalif, Hadji Wilhelm II, the conqueror of Louvain.

It is not the first time that Armenians, under the quasi-constitutional régime of the barbarous and tyrannical "Young Turks," are being executed for imaginary crimes. These despots in power are, in fact, the true successors of the Red Sultan, against whom many of their leaders in Europe conducted a paper "revolution," and afterwards returned to Constantinople "in triumph" to kiss the points of their Khalif's *pantoufles*. These belong to the self-same body who were so alarmed at the improved moral and material position and the increasing power of the Armenians of Cilicia, that in 1909 they resorted

to the organised massacre at Adana, when not only 30,000 Armenians were slaughtered, but 80,000 women and children were rendered destitute. After the termination of the orgy, six brave Armenians, who had had the audacity to defend themselves and their families against the fanatical Turkish hordes, were court-martialled, found guilty of course, and publicly executed as a warning to others who may be similarly minded in daring to spoil the nefarious designs of the "Committee of Union and Progress."

The capital punishment and wholesale arrest at the present moment of Armenian revolutionaries (? those working against the devilish impulses of the Turks) betrays the guilty dread that is gnawing at the hearts of the "Young Turk" leaders, and demonstrates—if demonstration were needed—the hopelessness of their position, held solely by brute force, and nearing its natural end through retributive justice. It is but a question of days or weeks when we shall witness the complete disappearance from the map of the world of the once vast empire of Osman, who planted one foot under the walls of Vienna, while the other was embedded in the sands of Africa in the days of the Crescent's triumph.

"Blood is indispensable in order to keep the peace," was the favourite maxim of Germany's War Lord, who by now has perhaps satisfied his imperial thirst with the blood of millions of men, women and children in Belgium, France and Poland. The squalid clique—Enver, Talaat, Djavid—are not only following in the footsteps of their erstwhile predecessor of bloody renown, but find no difficulty in adapting to their needs the similar unhallowed doctrines of their present German Master. The dried roots of the tree of Turkish tyranny has always needed human blood for its watering; but the soil is already saturated, and, with the unchaining of the hurricane of oppressed souls, the loosening of the roots and the downfall of the blood-sucking tree is as certain as day follows night. The hour of just retribution for slaughtered millions has at last struck, and Armenia is well towards her liberation from the canker which has, for centuries, mercilessly drained her life-blood.

The Turkish mis-rulers, in the folly of their Blood-and-Iron policy, have closed every chink and tightened every screw, leaving no safety-valve for their salvation, and no wonder that the world witnesses to-day, without amazement, the coming explosion of the rust-eaten Ottoman boiler. It is a natural law which brooks no deviation, even at the will of the Western War Lord or the Eastern Shadow of God, who have become companions in blood-guiltiness by their mediæval barbarities and by their crimes against civilisation.

It will not be long before our cherished heroes will rejoice in Heaven to see their beloved Armenia once more enjoying that Freedom and Liberty for which they had so gallantly struggled while on earth, for which they had suffered and died, leaving for us a noble example and a memory.

And what a glorious memory!

P. V.

"From London to Armenia,"

By ARAM RAFFI.

(Continued from p. 123, Vol. II.)

XI.

MORE OUTRAGES AND A POLITICAL RETROSPECT.

Panic in Van—The Cause of a Massacre—When an Armenian is Murdered—When a Kurd is Killed—"You don't want Control, but we want Reform"—Turkey and Europe (A Political Retrospect).

Even before our arrival at Van we were haunted by reports that that town was passing through a crisis. Excitement rose to the highest pitch and fear of massacre was rife. At the very outset of our journey, we had heard of the removal to Van of Turkish patrols of soldiers from those Balkan provinces that were lost to Turkey. These men were indolently patrolling the streets of Van. Now this—strange as it may seem to a European—means trouble.

In Europe, the passing of troops through towns or villages is a delight to the inhabitants. The beat of a drum rouses one's enthusiasm and has an inspiring effect. One is struck with admiration of the long procession of well-groomed, well-equipped, healthy and well drilled soldiers, all marching like one man. You have the impression of one huge unit. But an influx of Turkish troops brings nothing but sorrow. They drag along like a tired and hungry pack of hounds. There is no marching, no order, no sign of discipline—nothing but a motley crowd, composed, it is true, partly of men in uniform, but, on the other hand, we see many almost in rags and others in picturesque Kurdish costume, the whole forming a curious medley clothed in most diverse habiliments.

At the sight of this procession, the peasant knows that there is suffering in store for him. Not only will he have to feed these men, but it is certain that there will be a quarrel of some sort, which may, not improbably, result in a murder. He knows also that his daughters are not safe. So different are the feelings excited by the sight of soldiers in Europe and in Turkey.

To be quite accurate, I have met with well-ordered and well-equipped Turkish regiments, but only on the frontiers. The two cases are not parallel; in the one instance, the soldiers are stationed to guard the boundary and on that account more care is taken of them; in the other, they are let loose on the inhabitants of the country through which they pass. And so this patrolling of the streets of Van had its own significance. Almost every day brought fresh trouble.

This is what happened shortly before our arrival. A Turk went, in broad daylight, to an Armenian shop in the great Market Square and committed a robbery. The thief was caught and the shopkeeper gave him in charge to the passing guard, but the latter, instead of

arresting the criminal, incited "the Faithful" to break into the Armenian shop, saying: "This infidel giaour dares to accuse a Mussulman of robbery during the days of Ramazan." There was great excitement and it was a miracle that no massacre ensued. An appeal to the authorities was made by the Armenians and the guard was discharged, but this only made things worse, as, in revenge, he kept on stirring up violence, and no steps were taken to stop him.

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It is generally supposed that, in Turkey, towns are safer from massacre than villages, for—it is said—in the former there are authorities and foreign consuls, so that a protest can always be made, whereas the villages, being so remote, must be quite helpless; almost anything might be done there without being heard of till long afterwards; punishment—if it ever comes—must needs be slow.

Perhaps there is some truth in this theory, but, as a matter of fact, the towns have never escaped massacre, for they contain more of the elements that make for it. It is true that every massacre is perpetrated in obedience to orders issued from Headquarters for the furtherance of certain ends, but fitting instruments for the execution of the orders are ever at hand in certain classes of the inhabitants of towns, who are always on the alert to attack Christians.

It is said about the Adana massacre—and truly—that, although it was inspired by the High Central Authorities, there was a local feeling to which such a thing appealed. The reason of this was that Adana was too prosperous and the people who prospered most were Armenians. This excited the envy of Mahomedans who were poor through their own lack of industry. Thus, economic circumstances have also, in conjunction with others, brought about massacres.

When a town becomes prosperous, there is always fear of massacre. This fear was strongly felt in Van when we were there. The Mussulman elements here are represented by officials and only a very small proportion of artisans and shopkeepers. The rest are gardeners or are occupied in menial duties.

This is what produces envy, especially when workpeople have an imaginary cause of complaint against a prosperous Armenian with whom they are in business relations. In such people the lust of massacre is roused, for in massacre the Mussulman is supreme and his prosperous Armenian antagonist is helpless. The indigent Moslem has everything to gain by massacre. He has only to stab the rich Armenian with his dagger (which he is allowed to carry, while the Armenian is deprived of arms for self-defence), and then he can seize his property.

This is why a massacre always appeals to the poorer classes of Mahomedans. Even apart from its religious aspect, it is a profitable and safe sport. It has two great attractions for the needy Mahomedan; it may make him well-off with little trouble to himself; and there is no risk attending it.

For him there is this difference between robbery and massacre, viz., that there is danger for a robber in exercising his art, as he is liable to suffer legal penalties, whereas the mind of the impecunious Mussulman, out for massacre, is quite unburdened by an apprehension of punishment.

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When we reached Van, traces of the incidents which had taken place only a few days ago furnished illustrations of these reflections. As we said above, Van had just passed through a great crisis which might have resulted in a massacre and which had excited the whole population. This crisis was caused by the murder of an Armenian dentist by the patrols. This is how it happened. About eight o'clock in the evening, Melkon Mir Sakoian, the unfortunate dentist, in company with some other guests, was leaving a friend's house, where he had been at a party. They were a merry company, as they walked along. They had fallen into two groups. Those in front had a lantern which outshone the moonlight. Their gaiety attracted the attention of people, and brought them to the windows. Suddenly patrols appeared at a turning, and fired. The dentist fell, mortally wounded, and died 14 hours afterwards. No challenge was made, no warning was given, and the murderous patrols fled as soon as they had fired.

No reason was assigned for this murder. It was wantonly committed, as it seems, by drunken and irresponsible soldiers. Some said the dentist was mistaken for a well-known politician who was considered dangerous by the authorities. We need not enter into the reasons for this murder, but it was generally agreed that the dentist himself was regarded by everyone as harmless, and there was no necessity for his removal, even from the Turkish point of view. He was beloved by everybody. Under the Hamidian régime he was imprisoned in chains for 12 years, as he belonged to the Hentchakist party. When the Constitution was established, he was released. Soon after, he went to Constantinople, entered the Ottoman Medical University, and in 1912 attained the degree of Doctor of Dentistry. Then, in the recent Balkan War, he was a volunteer in the Red Crescent Society, and went to the War to attend to the wounded. His services were specially reported by the Commander of the regiment. At the time of his murder he had only been a few months back from the battlefield to Van, where he had been occupied solely with his profession. That is what caused surprise at his murder. When I talked over this with a Turk, asking him who was to blame for the crime, he made the characteristic reply: "It is nobody's fault. It was the judgment of Allah. Sometimes people pass into the danger zone and fall without any reason. This is Allah's way. Who is to blame?"

All Van went into mourning for the murdered man, and for four days the shops were closed. The funeral procession was of unparalleled magnitude. Suddenly while it was on its way, mounted police appeared

and forbade it to proceed further, making an exception only of the hearse and the mourners. This would have aroused great contention and might even have resulted in massacre, had not the Russian Consul interfered in time and persuaded the Vali to rescind his order.

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When we were in Van, the prisons were full of Armenians. These were chiefly innocent peasants of Kardjkan, a village near Van. The fact was, that a Kurdish chief in the district, named Mousa Bey, had been murdered (this Mousa Bey must not be confused with his well-known namesake). No one knew who were his assassins or what were their motives, but he was murdered not far from an Armenian village, and therefore the officials held the people of the village responsible for the crime, although there was no earthly reason why Armenians should wish to do this chief harm. But his subordinates and the regular troops were committing all sorts of atrocities in the village, as vengeance for the murder, on people who were guiltless of it. The peasants were terrified and fled to the mountains. Thus the harvest was left unreaped; which would entail additional misery during the ensuing year. So poverty is the inevitable accompaniment of outrages of this sort.

Commenting on the occurrence, one of the people of the place said: "To live in these parts now is, I will not say impossible, but certainly very difficult. They give us not a moment's breathing space. Tears are unceasing in our country and misery has become a familiar companion." I asked him whether it was not practicable for Armenians to establish a basis of friendship with the other elements of the population. "That's what we have been trying to do for many a long year," he replied; "we have always appealed to them for brotherly concord and friendliness, but our appeals have met with no responses. It is true that some of the Kurdish peasants share our sufferings at the hands of nomadic chiefs and brigands; but the majority of officials and authorities, together with the Kurdish Aghas and bands of brigands, asherats, and hamidiehs have always been the same—sneaky and destructive—with minds bent on evil, enriching themselves by plundering our people in one way or another. Brigandage has become an ordinary pursuit. Our protests are called treachery. When we kept silence we were stigmatised gjaours. When we implored, we were laughed at and reproached with servile cringing. What, then, are we to do? For a long time the gates of justice have been closed on us. The people who sit within have stopped their ears and are deaf. If it were only a few individuals who are animated by this spirit, we should have disregarded them, but, unfortunately, these are the feelings and ways of thinking of a dominant people. We have tried to believe and persuade ourselves that the Ottoman Constitutional Government might gradually improve the present state of things, but all in vain. It is not only these outrages themselves that are ruining

the country ; it is also their effect on harvesting and other rural concerns, as well as on trade and commerce, and the economic ruin that they bring about, making the people poorer and poorer ; or forcing them to escape by emigration."

I conversed also on the subject with a Young Turk. He acknowledged that a great deal remained to be done. He admitted also that Armenians had been loyal and good citizens, and a useful element in the population. "The only fault they have," he said, "is that they are trying to attract outside attention. They demand European control. You must allow that this endangers the integrity of Turkey and militates against its sovereign rights. It is also injurious to their own self-respect."

Strange to say, I found an article on the same subject in an Armenian paper of that week, published in Van. It was headed : "You don't want Control but we want Reform." Here are some extracts from it :—

"You don't want Control. What, then, do you want ? Do you want this country to continue suffering under terror, insecurity and massacre ? Do you want murders, acts of violence and tyranny, official and non-official, to go on ? You don't want Control ; but do you wish that we should still be massacred ? Do you wish for a new Adana ? Are these things less hurtful to Ottoman self-respect ? Do you think this will do no injury to the integrity of Turkey ? and do you consider that such things are consistent with its sovereign rights ? You don't want Control, but we want instant enactment of reforms ; we want reforms because our sense of patriotism differs from yours. Our sense of patriotism demands the enactment of reforms, the betterment and development of the country, but yours consists in always refusing any just demand, in opposing every beneficial scheme and every offer of voluntary co-operation in reform. Your patriotism has reduced Ottoman countries to ruin. This blind patriotism has brought the Ottoman Empire to its nadir. The bitter and blood-stained past of the Armenian people justifies us in distrusting the sincerity of Turkish chauvinism, and looking with suspicious eyes on all schemes of reform emanating from Constantinople, and no one can question our right to take this attitude because there has never been a day in Ottoman history when the Turkish Government has kept one of the many promises that it has made ; and even the party whose mission it is to regenerate Turkey has adopted the methods of the old régime and deceived and disappointed us."

To convey a clearer idea of what is meant by foreign control, it will perhaps not be out of place if we insert here a historical and political retrospect.

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Since the first quarter of the 19th century, certain events have happened which have caused the Great European Powers to take an interest in the affairs of Turkey, and thus the conditions of the

Armenians and other Christian races in Turkey have attracted their notice. This has been a benefit to some of the Christians of the Ottoman Empire, and has raised hopes in the Armenians of a betterment of their fortunes, but, in fact, it has only made things worse and led to massacre. We only chronicle briefly here the participation of the European Powers in the affairs of Turkey, so far as it concerns Armenia.

Ever since the beginning of the 16th century, Turkey has been considered "the sick Man of Europe," but not till early in the 19th century were any steps taken by the Great Powers to restore the invalid to health or to relieve the dying man of his responsibilities by dividing his possessions among themselves.

Turkey drew to herself the attention of the Great Powers, indirectly. Russia's conquests of the countries of the Khans, and of independent races and extensive areas in Persia, did not leave the European Powers indifferent. The sinister spectacle of Russian expansion filled them with alarm. This was, it seemed, the last period of wars for the sake of conquest ; after this, civilisation invented economic pretexts for taking up arms. But alas ! after a century's experience, history once more repeats itself and we are in the thick of another Napoleonic war.

Europe, at that time, was reduced to economic and moral bankruptcy by the long and foolish Napoleonic wars. Russia seemed, to the nations of Europe, a new Napoleon. It was thought that there would be constant changes in the map of Europe unless Russian ambition were checked. Russia, at this juncture, had conquered Persian territory up to her own natural boundaries, i.e., as far as the river Araxes. It now remained for her to make conquests up to her natural boundaries in Turkey.

One or two men in Turkey were aware of Russia's aspirations, especially Reshid Pasha, the Grand Vizier of Sultan Abdul Medjid and author of the *Hatti Sherif*, the scheme of reform promulgated in 1839, in which, for the first time, official promises were made of security of life, honour and property, irrespective of race and religious differences.

Ever since that time, whenever there has been a question of bettering the condition of Christian races under Turkish dominion, Turkey has made similar promises. New schemes have been drawn up and pledges have been given for the introduction of reforms. Needless to say, none of these promises have been kept.

At the time of which we are speaking, a new group of European Powers was formed with a view to maintaining the integrity of Turkey and defending it against Russian attacks. This group consisted of Great Britain, France, Austria and little Sardinia.

The real author of the Crimean War was the Second French Empire. The reasons for the policy of the French Government were connected, not with foreign, but with home affairs. The object of France was not to check Russia's expansion or to gain influence in Turkey, but to kindle patriotic enthusiasm in France and to divert the attention of the people from the revolutionary ideas then seething in the country.

The idea of checking Russian ambition originated quite independently in England, and for entirely different reasons. Just after the Crimean War, England had had to quell the Indian Mutiny, and she feared that sedition might break out again and another Power might take advantage of Indian disaffection, and advance on India. Turkey was an open road for Russia to the conquest of India, and this is why England desired to maintain the integrity of Turkey. Thus all the Powers joined together to support Turkey. As if to soothe their consciences, the group of nations unfriendly to Russia, whenever a treaty was made in which Turkey was concerned, tried to insert vague clauses stipulating for the better treatment of the Christian subjects of the Porte.

Thus in 1855, February 1st, the 11th clause of the Vienna Protocol concerned the religious enfranchisement of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire.

In 1856, February 18th, the eve of the Congress of Paris, was published Sultan Medjid's Hatti Humayoun guaranteeing to the Christians in the Turkish Empire security of life, honour and property, but of course these guarantees were never more than verbal.

In 1859, November 5th, the first protest was made to the Porte, expressing the regret of the Powers that the firman had not been carried into effect. This performance has been gone through at intervals up to the present time. As these reforms have all been promised under pressure, they have likewise been abandoned just so fast and so far as the pressure has been removed.

There have been statesmen in Europe who have thought Turkey was capable of introducing reforms herself independently of assistance from outside, but Russia had no such belief.

Even as far back as 1867, a memorandum, presented by Russia, stated that the only practical solution of the Eastern Question was to separate the interests of the Christians under Turkish rule from those of the Mahomedans, "because," continues the memorandum, "the assimilation of the different elements in Turkey is a matter of impossibility. Therefore steps should be taken to separate the interests of Christians from these Mahomedans, thus facilitating the simultaneous progress and welfare of various races and religions, all under the dominion of the Sultan, but under the control of Europe."

The recent Russian scheme is conceived in the same spirit.

The result of the visit of Sultan Abdul Aziz to Paris was the establishment of an Imperial Council, to which Christians were admitted for the first time.

In 1868, Sultan Aziz took another step forward; for the first time an Armenian was appointed to an office in the Ministry. His name was Grigor Aghaton; he was Minister of Public Works, and, with Grigor Odian, another politician, gained the confidence of the most influential Turkish statesman of the time, Midhat Pasha. These two men assisted Midhat in his work of reform.

Up to the time of the Franco-Prussian War, France had some influence in Turkey. European civilisation was associated, in the Turkish mind, with "Franks" (the French). Rising young Turks had imbibed French ideas during residence in Paris. France had also many times interfered in Turkey on behalf of Christians, and in some cases successfully. It was France that secured Lebanon for the Christians. But after the defeat of France by Germany, French influence vanished.

The misfortunes of France also tended to foster enmity towards Europeans and Christians. The old-fashioned Turks, who had always looked with an unfriendly eye on Western influence, had now the upper hand; they hoped that the decline of French influence would keep off the interference of foreigners in the affairs of Turkey. Almost the very idea of reform was stifled.

There was a revival of Chauvinism and general animosity was displayed against Christian subjects. Armenians and other Christians holding Government offices were dismissed. This hostility led to the Russo-Turkish War, which was, as is well known, undertaken by Russia for the benefit of the Slav races.

The provisions with regard to Armenian affairs contained in the 16th article of the Treaty of San Stephano and article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin and in the Cyprus Convention, the scheme of reform of the Armenian vilayets (1895), and the most recent scheme of reform by entrusting the government of the Armenian Provinces to two Inspectors-General, are matters of current politics.

As a defence of the Armenian massacres, Turkish authorities used to say that they were the necessary consequences of revolutionary movements, which stirred up rage in the adherents of Islam.

But there were also Turkish revolutionaries who were called "Young Turks," and these were persecuted by the Government.

In 1908 there was a congress of Turkish revolutionaries in Paris in which Armenian revolutionaries participated. All these revolutionaries came to the unanimous conclusion that they must concentrate all their energies on overthrowing Sultan Hamid and doing away with his régime. This resulted in the victory of the Young Turks on July 24th, the throwing off of the yoke of Sultan Hamid, and the establishment of the Constitution.

Then Turkish revolutionaries marched with Mahomedan clergy and a Mahomedan crowd to the graves of the Armenian revolutionaries who had fallen victims in the massacres committed in Constantinople during the Hamidian régime. They delivered speeches of fervent eloquence, saying that these fallen revolutionaries had sown the seed of liberty which had now sprung up and borne fruit.

No race in Turkey welcomed the Constitution more warmly than the Armenians; their enthusiasm even exceeded that of Mahomedans.

The existence of revolutionaries, whether Armenian or Turkish, was the result of the Hamidian régime. Now that the Hamidian régime was at an end, the Turkish revolutionaries became the Government; and the Armenians became a political party, authorised and

recognised as such by the Turkish Government; and retaining this status, as a definite organisation, they constituted a power which could make itself felt, when necessary, interfering and making representations, whenever any outrage was perpetrated on Armenians.

The Young Turks entered into negotiations with this party with regard to elections and other matters.

Armenian revolutionary parties are no longer secret societies; they still call themselves "revolutionaries," but this name is one that has changed its meaning with altered circumstances. Armenians were co-operating, and were willing to continue to do so, with Mahomedans for the common welfare of the whole country, but the massacres of Adana which followed immediately on the establishment of the Constitution and sinister revelations as to their causes, together with the Chauvinistic tendencies of the Young Turks, and continual outrages in Armenia, have made Armenians somewhat distrustful of the new régime.

Then followed war between Turkey and the Balkan States. Armenians fulfilled their duties, as citizens, in fighting side by side with the Turks, and were greatly praised for their services by the Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Army.

After the conclusion of the Balkan War, misery and outrage became even more than usually rife in Armenia. The Armenian question once more engaged the attention of the Great Powers. It being quite hopeless to trust the Turkish Government to relieve the miseries of the Armenians, a responsible body headed by Boghos Nubar Pasha was formed by the Armenian Catholicos, the object of which was to make necessary representations with a view to hastening the enactment of reforms under European control.

The Russian Government took the initiative in the matter and drew up a scheme of reforms for Armenia, placing it under an Inspector-General, but, after this scheme had been the subject of long discussions with the Porte, it was greatly modified, the final agreement being that there should be two Inspectors-General, to whom should be entrusted the general control of the judicial and civil administration of the gendarmerie in the two sections into which the six vilayets of Armenia should be divided.

These deliberations went on for some time. Notwithstanding that the Inspectors-General were actually appointed, the Turkish Government gradually curtailed the powers assigned to them, till at last they became mere Turkish officials.

Finally, at the first signs of the present European War, they were recalled, and returned to Europe. Thus ended the "Scheme of Reforms."

* * * * *

Now the curtain is rising and Turkey is at war with England. The future of Armenia hangs on the issue.

(To be continued.)

Roll of Honour.

We have already alluded to the thousands of Armenians who are fighting in the Russian ranks, in the army of the Caucasus as well as in the armies fighting against Germans and Austrians on the Western and Southern flanks of Russia.

They must of necessity have their proper proportion of casualties. In the absence of a complete list, we present to our readers a partial list of names which have been reported in the Russian and Armenian papers at our disposal up to date:—

OFFICERS KILLED.

Vanandian, Mackertich H. .. *Captain on the Staff.*

OFFICERS WOUNDED.

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-------|------------------------------|
| Alexandrian, D... | .. .. | <i>Major.</i> |
| Artemian, C. .. | .. .. | <i>Captain.</i> |
| Der-Vartanian, Nigoghayos B. | .. .. | <i>Lieutenant.</i> |
| Der-Sarkissian .. | .. .. | <i>Captain.</i> |
| Eghiazarian, Serabion K. B... | .. .. | <i>Captain on the Staff.</i> |
| Gorkanian, Vasil V. .. | .. .. | <i>Lieutenant.</i> |
| Kevorkian, Leon .. | .. .. | <i>Lieutenant.</i> |
| Khanian, Konstantin I. .. | .. .. | <i>Colonel.</i> |
| Melik-Dadaian, Konstantin H. | .. .. | <i>Sub-Lieutenant.</i> |
| Mirzaian, Arshak Z. .. | .. .. | <i>Lieut.-Colonel.</i> |
| Mirzaklanian, Illarion A. M. .. | .. .. | <i>Sub-Lieutenant.</i> |
| Sarkissian, C. .. | .. .. | <i>Major.</i> |

MISSING.

Daniel Beg *Lieutenant.*

In addition to the above, the two Princes Arghutian-Ergaynapazug have also been wounded and are in hospital.

In the battles of Gumbinnen and Justerburg in East Prussia, hundreds of Armenian soldiers were among the killed and wounded. Among those under treatment in a hospital at Ryazan is Lieut. Leon Kevorkian, of Nakhichevan, in Russian Armenia, who took part in five battles in East Prussia, and in his sixth encounter at Gumbinnen on August 20th, he captured maps and field glasses from German officers. He has been recommended for the decoration of St. George for his bravery.

Among the hundreds killed and wounded from the ranks, the following are from Tiflis:—Ghorkanian, Paghtassarian, Anstashian, Danielian, Khatchatourian; and from Kars, Makarian.

Literary Section.

THE LAKE OF VAN.

Lines written after reading an English translation of Raffi's thoughts in connection with this beautiful lake. We have here a fitting prophecy at the present moment of Armenia's coming resurrection from a thralldom of centuries, which has been to her a veritable death.—ED. Ar.

Unutterable silence here is spread
On every hand, and Nature might be dead.
A lonely exile, here I sit and weep,
And far above, bright Moon, I see thee sweep.

From Earth's creation till the skies shall parch
And she dissolve, thou circlest Heaven's high arch :
Saw'st thou the laurels on Armenia's brow ?
And dost behold her hopeless sorrows now ?

Mournful as I ! I wonder dost thou see
How she is ground by heels of tyranny !
And do thine eyes with bitter tear-drops smart
When barbèd arrows pierce thee thro' the heart ?

Thy heart is stone, thy pity stark and cold,
For fields of innocent blood thou dost behold
Without a word, and o'er Armenia's land
Thy nightly compass of the dome hast spanned
With all the brightness that was thine of old.

* * * * *

O Lake, make answer ! Why be silent more ?
Wilt not lament with one whose heart is sore ?
And you, ye Zephyrs, hurl the waters high
That I may feed them from a mourner's eye !

A garden once, luxuriantly fair,
Now is Armenia choked with thorn and tare :
Thou who hast seen her fortunes wax and wane,
Tell me, I pray thee ! Must she thus remain ?

Must this unhappy nation ever be
By foreign princes held in slavery ?
Is the Armenian and his stricken race
Counted unworthy in God's judgment-place ?

Comes there a day, comes there a season that
Shall hail a flag on topmost Ararat,
Calling Armenians, wheresoe'er they roam,
To seek once more their loved and lovely home ?

Hard tho' it be, O heavenly Ruler, raise
Armenia's spirit, and her heart's dark ways
Light with Thy knowledge : understanding so
The mystery of life, her works shall show
That all she does is ordered to Thy praise.

* * * * *

Then suddenly the surface of the lake
Grew luminous, and from its depths did break
A lovely maid that bore a lantern and
A lyre of shining ivory in her hand.
Was she an Angel in a strange disguise ?
Was she a Houri fled from Paradise ?
Nay, rather was she of the form and hue
Of the Armenian Muses !

“ Tell me true,
“ O Muse,” I cried, “ our people's destiny !
“ Speak of the Now and of the Yet-to-be ! ”

Then the sweet heavenly Spirit made reply,
“ Wipe, O sad youth, the salt tears from thine eye !
“ I bring glad tidings : better days shall break,
“ New days of joy, that carry in their wake
“ The reign of God, Whose will is free and just :
“ A Golden Age again shall gild the dust !

“ Armenia's Muses shall awake anew,
“ And her Parnassus bloom with vernal hue,
“ And the bright car Apollo whirls on high
“ Shall sweep the shadows from her clouded sky.

“ For many a day, like thee, we mourned aloud
“ While the thick darkness wrapped her in its shroud :
“ Now, O beloved, may the weeping cease,—
“ To us has come the olive branch of peace !

"Cleanse front thy lute the rust that soils its string;
 "Hasten thee back, and, as thou goest, sing
 "Such joyful lays as yet may re-inspire
 "Hearts that are dead with new and tameless fire.
 "His Will is done; the Time is here; the Day
 "Dawns; and the Morning Star, so God doth say,
 "Shall be thy sign."

Then darkness fell again;
 The vision fled; but long there did remain
 An echo of the thrilling voice, that blended
 With the wild waves whose depths she had descended;
 And flowery perfumes filled the air like rain.

O message dear, and sweet prophetic strain!
 What happiness is come to us,—but Oh!
 Beautiful Muse, yet one thing would we know—
 Can a dead corpse rise from its tomb again?

G. M. GREEN.

Russian Protection for Armenia.

In the *Literary Section* of our last issue we gave several reviews of *Travel and Politics in Armenia* from various points of view, both friendly and hostile. The subjoined article, which traverses "the point of view of an Armenian," in the first of those reviews, is interesting, and brings out the very much improved aspect of Russian protection at the present day. It is written practically on similar lines, and with the same outlook, as we ourselves suggested in our article *Russia the Liberator*, in our September issue.

From the point of view of another Turkish Armenian.

Since the last issue of *Ararat* affairs in Armenia have been progressing with such great strides that it seems almost unnecessary to write the present article. The question of Russian *v.* Turkish rule has solved itself; and not only have the Russian armies crossed the Turkish frontier and occupied many towns in Armenia, but also thousands of Turkish Armenians have crossed over into Russia, and begged to enlist in the Russian ranks, while it is reported that in Van, Armenians have already revolted against the Turks and are trying to take the Arsenal with its stores of arms and ammunition so as to help the Russians. Thus the question as to whose rule the Armenians themselves would prefer is also solved.

In the face of all this evidence, I think one may pass over in silence the "light" thrown upon the subject by the opinions that five or six Armenian peasant women and children are stated by the Armenian critic of Mr. Noel Buxton's "Travel and Politics in Armenia," to have expressed—especially as these opinions are already seven or eight years old.

If such opinions are of much value, the present writer can quote what used to be said by the Kurds themselves who had been taken prisoners during the Russo-Turkish War: "The Russians are good people; we were well fed when amongst them and well looked after: here we get nothing but onions in the evening and skim-milk in the morning." It is not much but it means everything to the Kurds, and I wish to add that I only heard these sayings repeated nearly ten years later, and then as a skit on the accent with which the Kurds speak Turkish; but it is all the more significant for that, and Mr. Buxton's statements about the Kurds living on the borderland confirms the opinion that even the Mohammedan Kurds are happier under Russian rule.

I survived the massacres of 1895, having barely escaped with my life. I shall never forget the wretchedness and hopelessness of the Armenians that we saw in every town and village on our 15 days' journey to the sea-coast. "When you go to Europe tell them all that you have seen, and beg them to do something for us," they said. They were helpless and could not form any plans of their own; they could but cry to Europe to save them from the Turk.

Although I have not lived in Turkey in any "official capacity," like the Armenian critic of Mr. Buxton's book, yet I have always lived in an official atmosphere, for my father acted for fifteen years as British Vice-Consul for Diarbekir and was the only Armenian to whom the British Government has ever entrusted a vice-consulate in Armenia. So I not only know the Turks well and the hopelessness of their ever reforming themselves, but can remember my father's saying, even at that period, before any reform scheme, revolution, or Young Turk party had been tried and failed—that the Armenian question could only be solved by Russia's being given a free hand to deal with it. Moreover, it is an error to conclude that Russia is "the enemy of the Armenian soul"; from a fairly good knowledge of the Russian people, and their language, mentality and methods of governing; also from a comparison between the status of the Armenians in Russia with that of those in Turkey, I am convinced that not only will the Armenians be happy under Russian protection, but a united Armenia will be better developed and will be more likely to furnish a basis for a scheme of Home Rule under the suzerainty of Russia.

The case of Armenia is analogous to that of Poland; as Poland was divided among Russia, Germany, and Austria, Armenia is divided among Russia, Turkey and Persia. Since Russia has constituted herself the champion of a united and independent Poland, may we not hope that a similar condition will be created for Armenia?

The Russian Armenians have not left their own Church and become incorporated in the Orthodox Russian Church. On the contrary, the seat of the Catholicos—the ecclesiastical head of all the Armenians—is still at Etchmiadzin, and no Armenian, whether Russian or Turkish, has ever advocated changing its place, from fear of danger to the Armenian Church.

The Armenians are allowed to study and use their own language, although of course they must learn Russian as well, just as Irish and Welsh people have to learn English. They are very patriotic—much more so than the Turkish Armenians, for not only are all the Armenian revolutionary movements financed and set on foot, but many of the Armenian schools in Turkey are established and endowed by wealthy Russian Armenians. It is true that some 15 years ago the property of the Armenian Monastery, Church and College at Etchmiadzin were seized by the Russians, but the whole affair was a local one, owing to the bad administration of the Governor, Galitzin. Not only was the property returned to the Monastery very shortly after by order of the Czar, but Russian methods of government have been rapidly improving ever since, so that the Caucasus is now a happy and prosperous province, principally Armenian. The Russian people, who are good-natured and kind-hearted almost to a fault, fraternise with their Armenian fellow-subjects in a way which no other ruling nation has ever been able to do. There is no limit to the heights that a nation will be able to attain which has given to the world so much thought, talent and energy as the Russians have during the last hundred years.

In conclusion, I wish to add that it is not only our staunch champions and friends, the members of the Buxton family, who advocate the Russian solution of the question and declare it to be the wish not only of the Armenians themselves but even of the wild lawless Kurds. In an article called "Impressions of Armenia and Kurdistan" which appeared in this year's January issue of the "National Review," the Hon. Walter Guinness, M.P., writes:—

"The necessity for union among the Powers and the danger of such appointments being misunderstood are no doubt good reasons for the refusal (of the British Foreign Office to lend administrators), but it must be pointed out that it has strengthened the growing tendency among Armenians to look to Russia for protection. Thirty-five years of waiting have exhausted their confidence in the efficacy of the European Concert. They even look upon it as a baleful influence which by internal jealousies and secret opposition to the reforms publicly advocated, has prevented those improvements in administration which would have been comparatively simple if a single Power alone had had a free hand. There is also a conviction that reforms, if ever adopted under international control, will prove as ineffective as the hitherto endless international efforts to obtain those reforms.

"The shadow of Russian military power is thrown across the Caucasian frontier, and Russian Consuls backed by that power are becoming the most powerful protectors of the oppressed. Apart from these tendencies arising from geographical facts, there are many evidences of a skilful Russian propaganda. The former Russian policy of repressing the Armenian nationality in the Caucasus has been replaced by one of sympathy. The Russian Press give prominence to the sufferings of Armenians in Turkey. Now that dreams of an independent Armenia have faded, it is not surprising that in view of the unwillingness of any other Power to accept responsibility, Russian rule is coming to be looked upon as the only means of escape from intolerable conditions. More remarkable is the liking which Kurds show for Russia. Although they are very free from any form of Turkish interference, and the obligation of military service is most imperfectly enforced, Kurds hate the Turks. Many of them are armed with Russian rifles, and in an inaccessible mountain village I found a Russian dressed as a Kurd and living the Kurdish life. He was said to have been there for some years and to have left Russia owing to trouble with the Russian police. This may have been true; on the other hand I was informed that he travelled very frequently to the capital of the vilayet and received money from his brother, who was a Russian officer. It was at least remarkable that such a man should choose to spend his life in a particularly dirty Kurdish village unless for some strong reason."

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